III

Non-official business.

MOTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST

REPRESENTATION OF THIYYA COMMUNITY IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

* Rao Bahadur P. RAMAN :—" Sir, I beg to move :

'*That this Council recommends to the Government that provision may be made for the adequate representation of the Thiyya community in the higher grades of the Police Department, such as Deputy Superintendents, etc.*'

" I understand (I speak subject to correction) that the number of assistant superintendents sanctioned for the Presidency is 36 and of deputy superintendents 40 or 41, partly directly recruited and partly reserved for subordinate police. There are also a few temporary and sub. *pro-tem.* deputy superindendents. Among these officers there is none belonging to the Thiyya community though it is a large and an important one with several educated and efficient members. Among them there are now four permanent inspectors and one acting inspector, all capable men who will fill higher posts with credit to themselves and to the community. I submit that in the absence of recruitment one of these inspectors can be promoted to the post of a deputy superintendent to begin with and two posts reserved for Thiyyas.

" The Thiyyas of Malabar have always been loyal to Government and they are ever grateful for the blessings they enjoy. But in view of the insistent demand for Provincial autonomy and Indianisation of the services I submit that the community deserves a place, consistent with the rights of other communities, in the higher grades of all the departments of Government for which its members are eligible. The hon. Member Rao Bahadur Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliyar in seconding the motion for Provincial autonomy on the 18th August 1924 said 'Provided that the interests of the various communities in our land are safeguarded we can have the highest privileges that can be given to any people under the British Empire.' And the hon. Member for the University said 'I agree that they ought to be protected, but the only question is what is the method.' So that I am not asking too much by this resolution.

" I therefore submit the resolution for the kind acceptance and favourable consideration of this hon. House and the Government.

" I wish to add a few words which I had not at first intended to say. There were amongst us some Deputy Collectors before. One of them did such meritorious work that the Government was pleased to grant him his full pay as pension. There are now four or five Deputy Collectors in active service. In the Judicial Department we had two Sub-Judges before. One of them was given the title of Diwan Bahadur. The other died last year in harness. My humble self retired as Acting Sub-Judge of Palghat. I mention these facts simply to show that when we could be trusted with the responsibilities of these offices, there is no reason why we should not be trusted with those of the Police."

*Rao Sahib P. V. GOPALAN :—" Sir, in seconding this motion which has been so very ably moved by my hon. Friend, Rao Bahadur P. Raman, I have to state

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that he is an accredited leader of the Thiyya community in Malabar and that he is also held in high esteem by the respectable members of various other communities.

"What I wish to press is this. The Thiyyas in Malabar form a very large percentage of our population numbering about 7 lakhs.
12-15 p.m.
Among them more than 11 per cent are educated. They are a very loyal class and they are seen in many different walks of life in the public service. Before the reorganization of the present Police department, the Thiyyas were duly represented as inspectors of police; and I am told that they have done very creditable service at times when Government was faced with risings and other things for which Malabar is specially noted. After the reorganization, I see about half a dozen of Thiyyas in the Police department as inspectors of police; some of them are prosecuting inspectors, some railway police inspectors and some are in the City Police. And about a dozen of them are sub-inspectors. Sir, I know most of these people have done very creditable service during the Mappilla rebellion, and to my great sorrow and to the great disappointment of the Thiyya community, I find that when many of the colleagues of these Thiyya members of the Police service are promoted to the posts of deputy superintendents, it is a great pity, I may say, that not a single one of them is given a chance of getting a deputy superintendent's place. Sir, the elevation of a Thiyya to the place of a deputy superintendent will be a very great encouragement to that community in general and to the Thiyya sub-inspectors in particular. With these few words, I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion which has been moved by Mr. Raman."

TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

* Mr. R. SRINIVASAN :—"Sir, I beg to move the following amendment to this resolution :—

'*That after the word "Thiyya", the following words be inserted: "Ezhuva, Cheruma, Parayan and Nayadi" and that for the word "community" the word "communities" be substituted.*'

"Sir, to-day there is not even a constable in Malabar from the communities mentioned by me in my amendment. It is already admitted that the Thiyyas are already in the Police department as inspectors and sub-inspectors, and in such a case, I do not see what good is derived by confining the benefit to the Thiyyas alone. Therefore by my amendment, I wish to extend the benefit contemplated by the resolution, to other backward communities as well."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Sir, I second the amendment. I welcome this amendment because I for one endorse every word that has fallen from the hon. Member that has spoken before, that Government cannot confine its attention to one neglected community alone. There are other neglected communities who have a claim on the appointments to the higher grades of the Police service, including, I should say, the Indian Christians. So, I urge that the claims of the neglected communities should be taken into consideration for the higher appointments in the Police department. With these words, I strongly second the amendment."

* Mr. K. PRABHAKARAN TAMPAN :—"Sir, I should like to know from Mr. Srinivasan whether he refers to the higher appointments in the Police department or the lower appointments. From what I understand from Mr. Raman's resolution as well as his speech, this motion has reference only

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to the higher grades of the Police department such as deputy superintendents, etc. It is a well-known fact that among the Thiyya community there are several inspectors, sub-inspectors and other officers, whereas among the Cheruma, Nayadi and other communities there is hardly even a constable. Therefore I should like to know from Mr. Srinivasan whether he recommends the appointment of a deputy superintendent directly from among the Nayadis and others mentioned by him. If so, my point is whether there ought not to be a certain minimum educational qualification for holding these appointments, because among the Nayadis you cannot find one man who can read and write. So also among the Cherumas. It would therefore be meaningless if Mr. Srinivasan suggests that one of the higher posts should be given to one of these people at the outset."

* Mr. R. SRINIVASAN :—" The rules and regulations which we want to make now may not apply to old people like myself but they are intended for the rising and future generations. There are lots of constables from Malabar now in Madras, and they may be promoted. Their children may be educated and they may be allowed to rise to the higher posts afterwards."

* Mr. K. PRABHAKARAN TAMPAN :—" Personally I shall be the last man to object to the spirit of this amendment. But knowing as I do the condition of these people, I am afraid it is too soon to hope for giving effect to this amendment."

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR—" Sir, in speaking on this motion, I want to keep the resolution and the amendment thereto distinct, the one from the other. So far as the original proposition is concerned, that is, the motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Raman, I am in hearty sympathy with it and support it. The Thiyya community is one that contains many educated and intelligent men. There are circle inspectors of police in that community now, and as my hon. Friend the Mover of the Resolution stated, there were in the past Deputy Collectors, and even now I think there is one. (A voice: 'There are four'). There are Sub-Judges, and my hon. Friend himself was an ornament to the Judicial Department as a Sub-Judge. The community is also growing in education, so that there is no reason whatever why deputy superintendents should not be appointed from this community. After all, all that the resolution says is this: It does not fix the Government to any proportion, but what it requests is an adequate representation of the Thiyya community in the higher grades of the Police department. Therefore I heartily support that proposition.

" With regard to the amendment of my hon. Friend Mr. Srinivasan, I believe my friend knows my views relating to the representation of the members of the depressed communities in the public service, and my views are known to the Mover of the resolution as well. But I doubt very much whether my Friend Mr. Srinivasan realizes the consequences of his amendment to the resolution. Now, as amended, the resolution would read thus:

> '*That this Council recommends to the Government that provision may be made for the adequate representation of the Thiyya, Ezhuva, Cheruma, Parayan and Nayadi communities in the higher grades of the Police department, etc.*'

" I do not know whether the Cheruma and Nayadi communities exist in other parts of India, and I understand from my hon. Friend the Law Member . . ."

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Mr. R. VEERIAN :—"On a point of order, Sir, may I know whether we can use the degrading and vulgar word 'Parayan' which has already been expunged from the Government records. I do not know why my hon. Friend the Mover of the amendment, Mr. Srinivasan, has forgotten to expunge this word from his amendment."

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" For the present, this word has been used in the amendment, and, like my hon. Friend Mr. Veerian, I myself thought of it and could not understand why Mr. Srinivasan used this word 'Parayan' Seeing that the word 'Parayan' is used in the amendment, I referred to that. My point was this: I do not know whether my hon. Friend Mr. Srinivasan or Mr. Saldanha fully realizes the consequence of the amendment that has been moved by the former. What the amendment asks the Government to do is this: to appoint members of the Nayadi, Cheruma and the other community already referred to by me (laughter) as deputy superintendents of police. To my knowledge, the members of the unmentionable community do exist in other parts of India, but the members of the Nayadi and Cheruma communities exist only in my unfortunate district. So far as I am aware, these two communities do not exist in other parts of the Presidency and to my shame as a native of Malabar I must admit that the way in which the Cherumas and Nayadis are treated is a disgrace to mankind. In the case of the Nayadis, they are not allowed to approach an ordinary human being within any reasonable distance. They have to stand at a very great distance and have to shout at the top of their voice begging for alms. It is not possible to find, as my hon. Friend Mr. Prabhakaran Tampan submitted to the House, one literate man in the whole community. In fact, even for begging for alms they have to stand at a distance of about three furlongs. As Swami Vivekananda once described, Malabar is a big lunatic asylum in this respect ('Hear, hear'). When he was travelling in the district he found the Nayadis standing at long distances and shouting for alms. He made inquiries and he was informed that they were asking for alms and they were shouting at the top of their voice because they could not approach the members of the so-called higher communities. Then it was that he said that Malabar is a huge lunatic asylum . . . "

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI :—" On a point of order, Sir, can people from lunatic asylums be members of this Council? "

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" There are sane men in lunatic asylums and lunatics in assemblies of wise men like this. That apart, my point is this. It is not possible, however much I sympathize with the members of the Nayadi community, for the Government even if they accept this amendment to give effect to the recommendation contained therein. It is only from that point of view that I point out this circumstance. The Cherumas are no doubt in a little more favourable position than the Nayadis, but they too are treated very badly. I believe that a few of the Cherumas are literate in the sense that they know how to read and write Malayalam, but I do not believe that there is a single member of that community who knows English."

* Mr. K. PRABHAKARAN TAMPAN :—" There is one member of the Cheruma community I know who has read up to the Fourth form."

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" In fact I would be very glad if he is in a position to be appointed deputy superintendent of police. But my point with reference to the amendment is that whatever the educational qualifications of this particular member of the Cheruma community may be,

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there are considerable difficulties in the way of the Government giving effect to this amendment. I fully sympathize with the spirit underlying the amendment, but I believe there are practical difficulties in working it out. If it is passed, then the Government would be given a handle in not giving effect to it, because it is actually impossible to do it. If the original resolution is passed, it leaves something which is possible to be done. If it is accepted by the House or by Government, we can in any case at least heckle the Government now and then and ask them why they do not give effect to this resolution and so on. But in the case of the amendment, this would not be possible. In order that something practical may be done, I would request my hon. Friend to withdraw his amendment. I am in hearty sympathy with and fully support the original resolution "

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Is Mr. Srinivasan going to withdraw his amendment? "

* Mr. R. SRINIVASAN :—" I wish to say one word about the use of the word 'paraiyan' in my amendment which has been called into question.
12-30 p.m. My difficulty was that we do not call the 'paraiyans' of Malabar by any other name as we do in the case of 'Adi-Dravida' or 'Adi-Andhra'. We do not call them 'Malayala Dravida'. That is why I had to describe them like that. I thought we will not be in any way degrading them. I know there was a sub-inspector among the Cherumas and his place was made very hot for him and he was dismissed. As I said before we are not making laws here for any particular person or any particular people. We are making laws for the rising and future generations. That is my view."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" So the hon. Member is not withdrawing."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, at the outset I think I may say this, that Government do not propose and have not passed any rules or regulations making it difficult for any member of any community referred to to attain to the rank of deputy superintendent or district superintendent of police. Nor in the administration of the departments which I have the honour to administer can it be said, Sir, and I can claim that credit, I think legitimately, that persons legitimately entitled to appointments or promotion are not given that appointment or promotion by reason of the circumstance that they belong to any particular community. Taking this very Thiyya community into consideration, Sir, I think it will be within the memory of this House that not long ago a very well-known member of this community was appointed to a place in the Madras Small Causes Court, and it cannot be said that the representatives of the Thiyya community have been depressed in the sense of their not being given adequate opportunities and privileges for getting into the public service. They are represented amongst the highest ranks of the public service. It has been rightly pointed out by the Mover of the resolution and others who have spoken on this matter that amongst the Thiyya community there are persons who occupy and who have occupied responsible positions in the executive and judicial administrations. Therefore so far as it is alleged that this resolution has been or is intended to convey the idea that there is any handicap or obstacle in the way of the members of the community attaining the rank to which they are entitled by reason of their equipment, I do not think it can be legitimately claimed that there is any obstacle. But my difficulty in accepting the resolution in the present form is twofold. In the first place as I have already mentioned on another occasion acting on the

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principles which I have ennunciated in this House we have given up so far as direct recruitment is concerned all initiative rights of direct recruitment in the administration of the Police department and have handed powers of initiative in those matters to the Staff Selection Board as a nucleus of the future Public Service Commission. That apart there is no doubt that neither the Staff Selection Board nor the Government in the administration of the matter will, if there is a competent Thiyya available for appointment, have the slightest hesitation in appointing him. I think I can say with the full sense of responsibility from my place as a member of the Government that if any Thiyya is found competent for the task, the Inspector-General of Police has never hesitated in making the recommendations on the merits of the candidates as apart from the communities to which they belong, due provision being made for other claims. Nextly I do not think that in the administration of the department the Inspector-General has been deterred by the fact even of seniority to supersede others if it is shown that there is exceptional merit and that policy has been ratified by the Government. Therefore if a gentleman belonging to the Thiyya community is found to be fit to become a deputy superintendent there will be no obstacle to his becoming a member of that service. But the hon. Member went on to give instances of certain people who may be forthwith made deputy superintendents. I deprecate that kind of argument, because it will be difficult indeed if members belonging to various communities should say, 'Well, there are so and so who are inspectors and who may be made deputy superintendents'."

* Rao Bahadur P. RAMAN :—" One of the inspectors may be made."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" It is very difficult in these matters to mention names or to make even an approach to mention names I find that the seniormost Thiyya inspector is 'second-class inspector and his number is 86'. That being so it would be difficult to accept the proposition. When the seniormost man is the 86th it will be very difficult indeed to call upon the Government to make him a deputy superintendent. There are difficulties in adopting such a step."

* Rao Bahadur P. RAMAN :—" I only want that one man should be appointed, whether he is a junior or senior."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" All that I can say as a Member of the Government is that if a Thiyya gentleman attains to the proper rank and when he becomes a first-class inspector he will have his chance. Government have not accepted and will never accept any handicap by reason of birth. We cannot accept the resolution as it is framed, because provision cannot be made in the department for a man who stands as the 86th in second-grade inspectors. If what is attempted to be done is the initiation of the principle that Thiyya gentleman of merit and of the requisite seniority should not be debarred from rising to the highest posts to which they are entitled, that is a resolution which the Government can accept. But in the conditions of this case to accept this resolution will be to supersede all other persons who are inspectors of the first grade and who have acted as deputy superintendents. Having made absolutely clear that the Government has done its best to the community and are willing to do so when there is nothing to stand in the way of their doing so, I hope the hon. Member will withdraw his resolution."

* Rao Bahadur P. RAMAN :—" In view of the remarks of the hon. the Law Member I beg to withdraw my resolution."

Mr. R. VEERIAN :—" I object to the withdrawal."

*The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" There is an amendment in the hon. Member's name and I will allow him to speak on the amendment. Mr. R. Srinivasan's amendment will be first put to vote and then Mr. Veerian's amendment and then the original proposition."

Mr. R. VEERIAN :—" Sir, I beg to move my amendment which runs as follows :

> '*After the word " Thiyya " in the second line, insert the words " and depressed " ; for the word " community " substitute " communities " in the third line.*'

" As amended, Sir, the whole proposition will read as follows :

> '*That this Council recommends to the Government that provision may be made for the adequate representation of the Thiyya and depressed communities in the higher grade of the Police department, such as the deputy superintendents, etc.*'

" Sir, my amendment is a very simple one. Sir, the members of the depressed classes are noted for physical fitness. Their loyalty is beyond praise. Sir, their character is also beyond praise. The extraordinary qualities that are required in the Police department are physical fitness, capacity and character. What more qualifications are required in the Police department to give satisfaction to the public and the Government? Sir, can we say that the members of the depressed classes do not possess such extraordinary qualities ? "

*The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" I never said so, Sir."

Mr. R. VEERIAN :—" If the chances are given to the so-called depressed classes, I am sure it will work like a magic wand. Sir, in certain number of cases pollution also will vanish. If they want to encourage the depressed classes, the so-called depressed classes, Sir, here is the chance. Sir, I have no idea to feel the pulse of the Government. I am sure, Sir, that the Government are always sympathetic in words to the depressed classes. I do not say, Sir, that the Government show only lip sympathy. Their sympathies are always at heart. I do not suspect it. Sir, here is the chance. Therefore I want to say to them that all their sympathies should be turned into practical sympathy. We are quite tired of the lip sympathies. What I want is representation in public services. That is what I am asking here. Sir, I handed over to the hon. the Law Member very recently a list which contained a number of members belonging to the depressed classes who had done meritorious service and who have put in a great number of years of service. Their claims were ignored."

*The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Sir, I think in deference to the sentiments which have emanated from the hon. Member who spoke last it is necessary for me to make the position of the Government in regard to the depressed classes quite clear. I may say that both with regard to the Judicial Department and the Police Department, the two departments for whose administration I am partly responsible, instructions have been given that the depressed classes should be given special encouragement if they were otherwise qualified. In a recent instance my hon. Colleague, the Minister for Education, has appointed a member of the depressed classes as one of the Assistant Professors of the Law College, one whom I had the honour of

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having as an apprentice. It seems to me, Sir, wherever it is possible Government have not been behind hand and will not be behind hand in encouraging the members of the depressed classes."

Mr. R. VEERIAN :—" May I point out that several members of the depressed classes in the Andhra Desa who have done meritorious service and put in long years of service as sub-inspectors have not been promoted owing to the fact that the immediate superiors thought that there would be caste pollution ? If they had been given opportunities they would have been superintendents of police and not deputy superintendents of police."

*The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" I think I must deprecate such a discussion as that, while I greatly appreciate the efforts of hon. Members like Mr. Veerian in pleading the case of the depressed classes. But there is one word that I desire to say which will be, I trust, of some little guidance and use. The effect of bringing out the cases of certain individuals in discussing these matters in this House may sometimes be quite the opposite of what the hon. Member intends. I would earnestly ask him not to do so but to put his representations before me and see what I can do in such matters. But to mention them in this House and to say that certain departmental superiors have not given adequate recognition of *A* or *B* because they belonged to a particular community may lead to that particular departmental officer becoming more critical than he would otherwise be. Therefore I would earnestly deprecate a discussion of that kind on the floor of this House. Let him not only appeal to me in the interest of the depressed classes, but let him enter my room and ask me why such and such a thing has been or has not been done. But let him not invite discussion on the floor of this House on such a matter in the very interest of the cause which the hon. Member wants to serve."

12-45 p.m.

Mr. R. Srinivasan's amendment was then put and declared lost.

Mr. R. Veerian's amendment was also then put and declared lost.

Mr. R. Veerian demanded a poll.

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" May I add one word and ask the hon. Member with all the earnestness I can command not to press his motion. I have said that, so far as the departments in my charge are concerned, I have given instructions that whenever it is possible these communities ought to be specially helped. I have said already that the rank of the senior Thiyya gentleman is No. 86 on the list, and the number of depressed classes among inspectors and sub-inspectors is practically nil. What is the use of this resolution at all ? Is it going to affect anybody in any way ? "

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" Have direct recruitment."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Does the hon. Member wish to press for a division ? "

Mr. R. VEERIAN :—" No, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. the Mover of this resolution has expressed his wish to withdraw the resolution. Has he the leave of the House ?"

The resolution was by leave withdrawn.